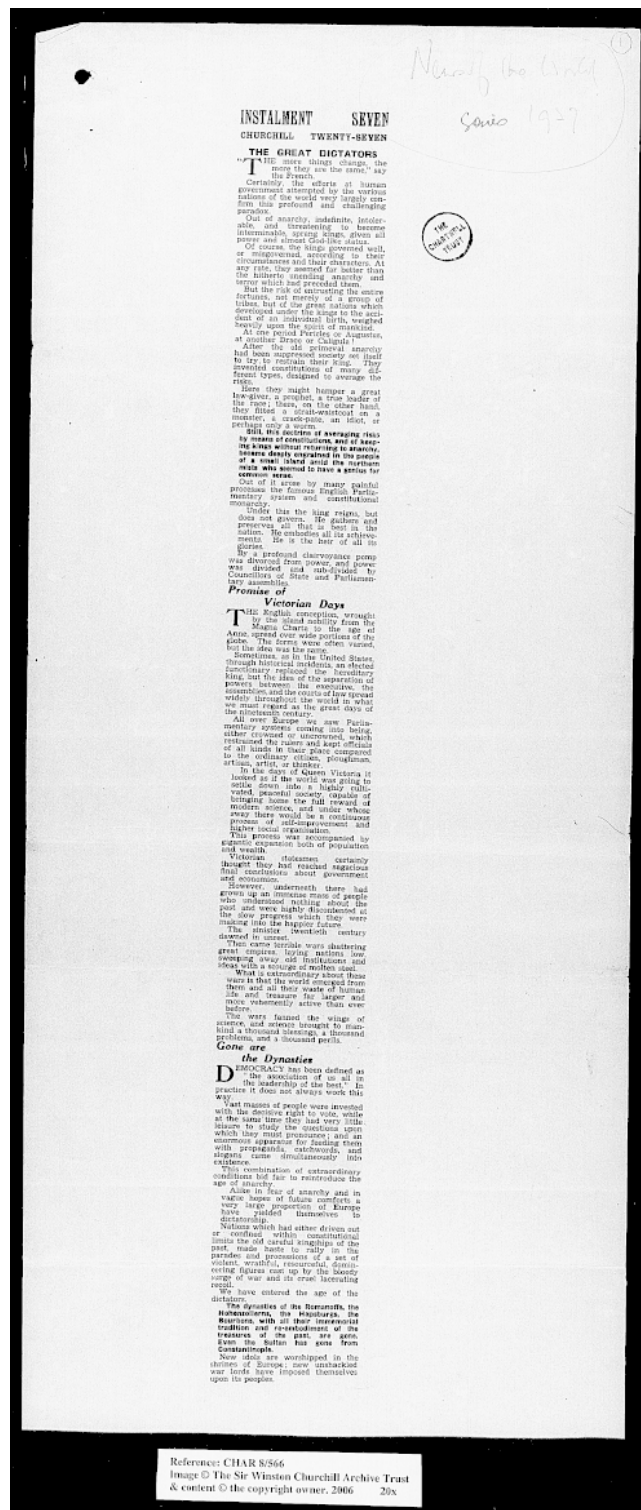
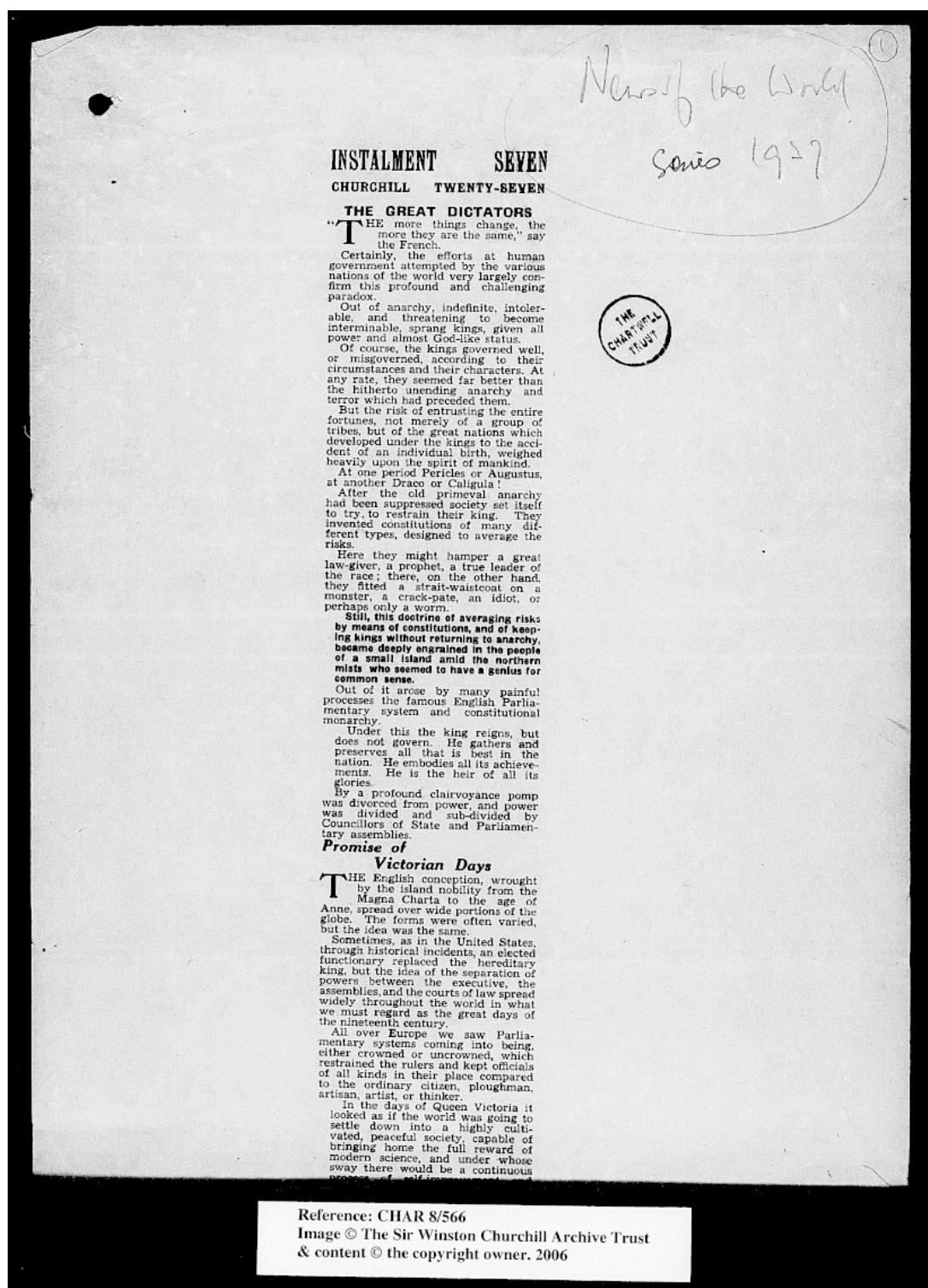


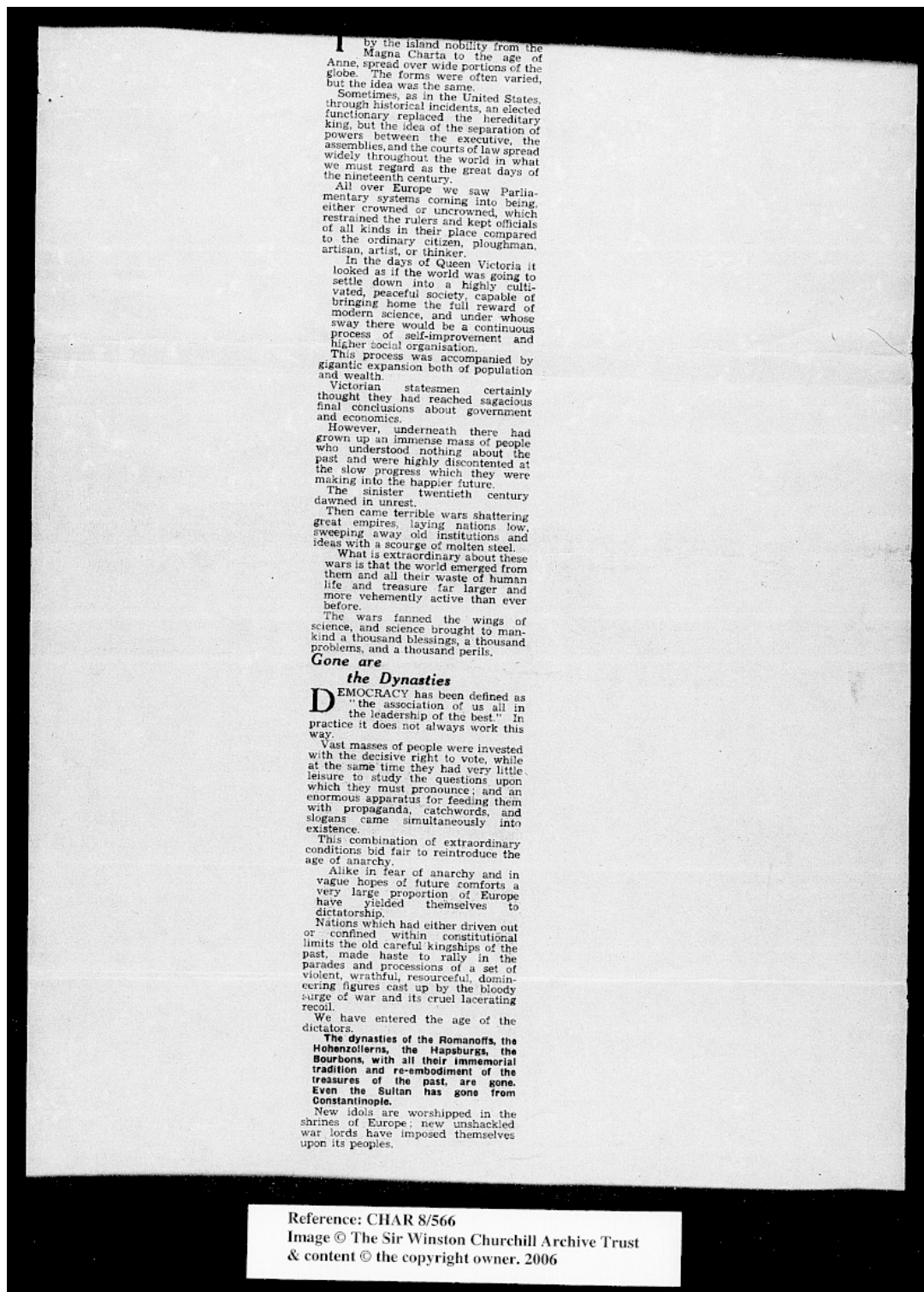
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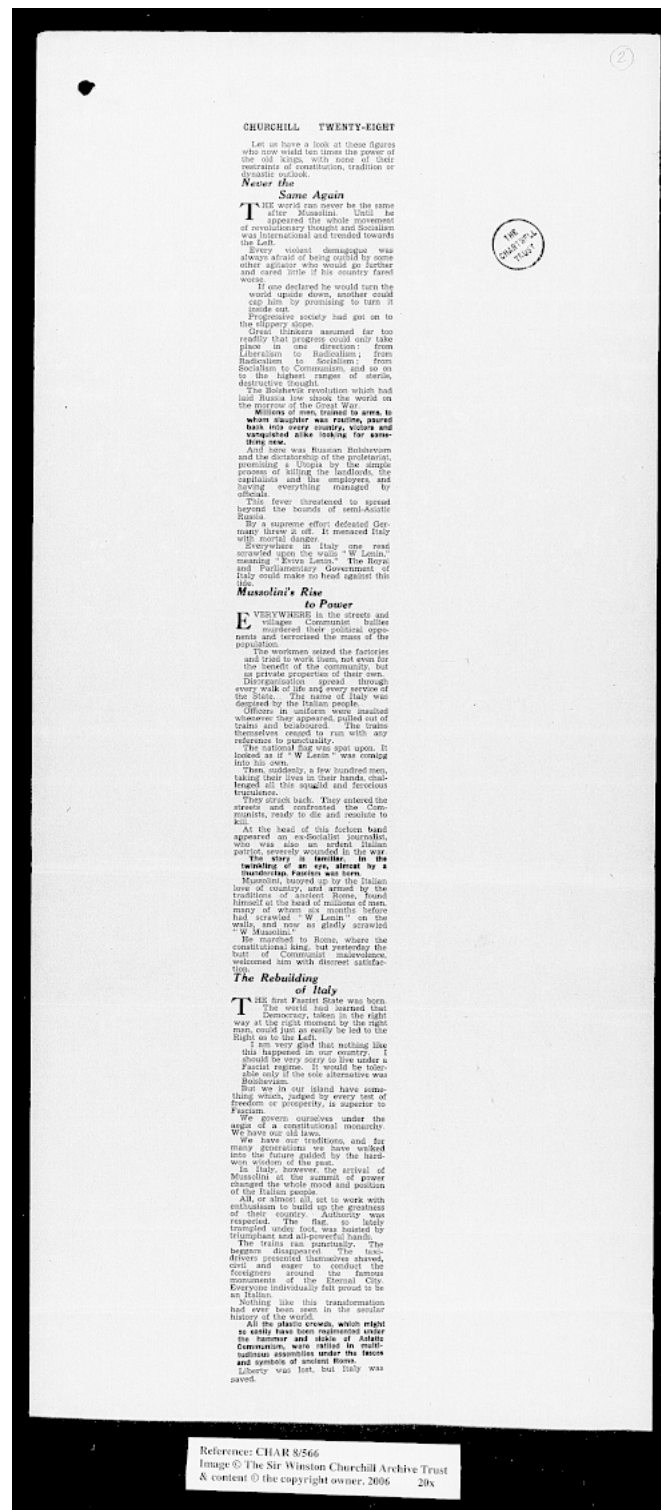
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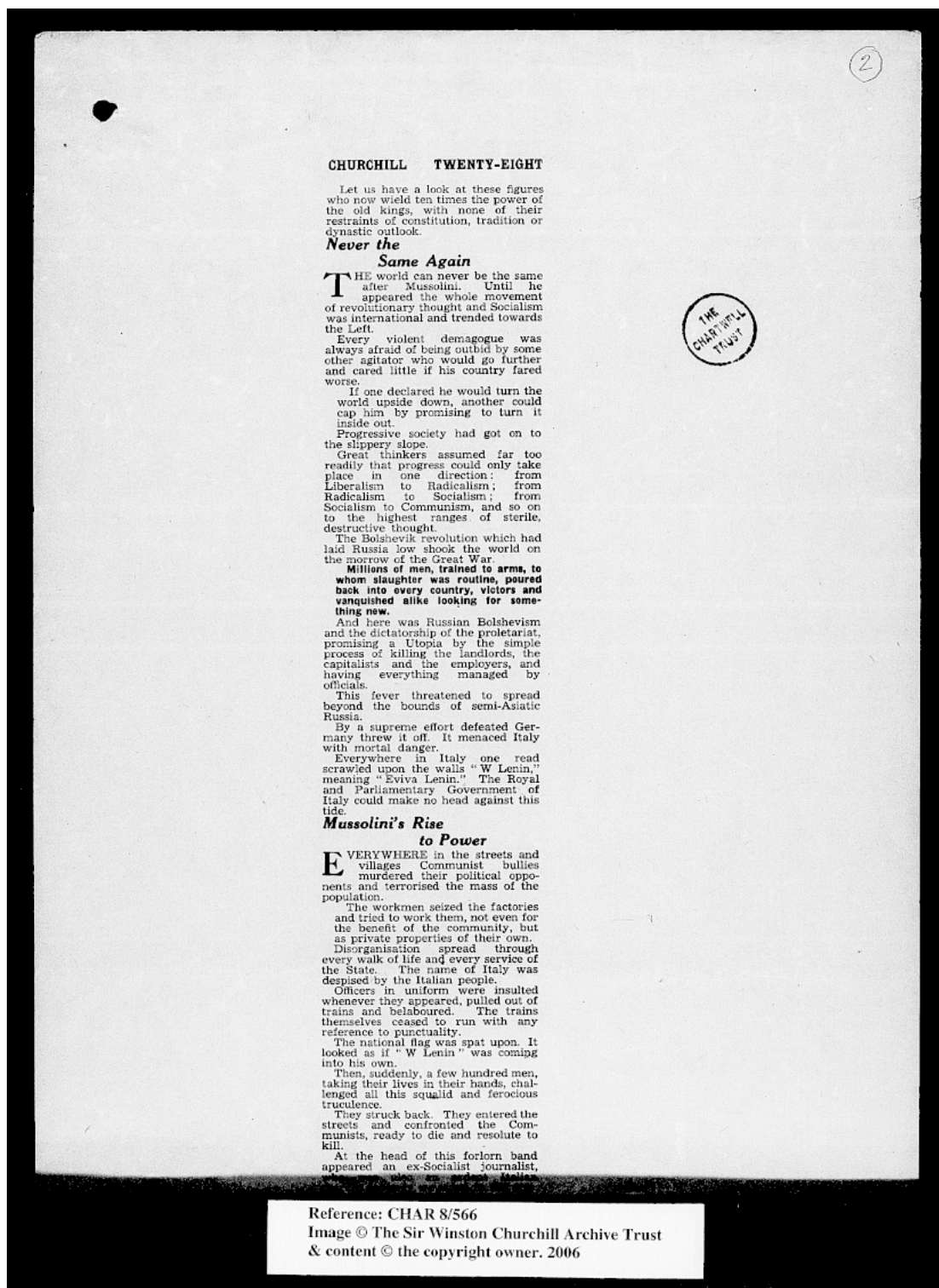
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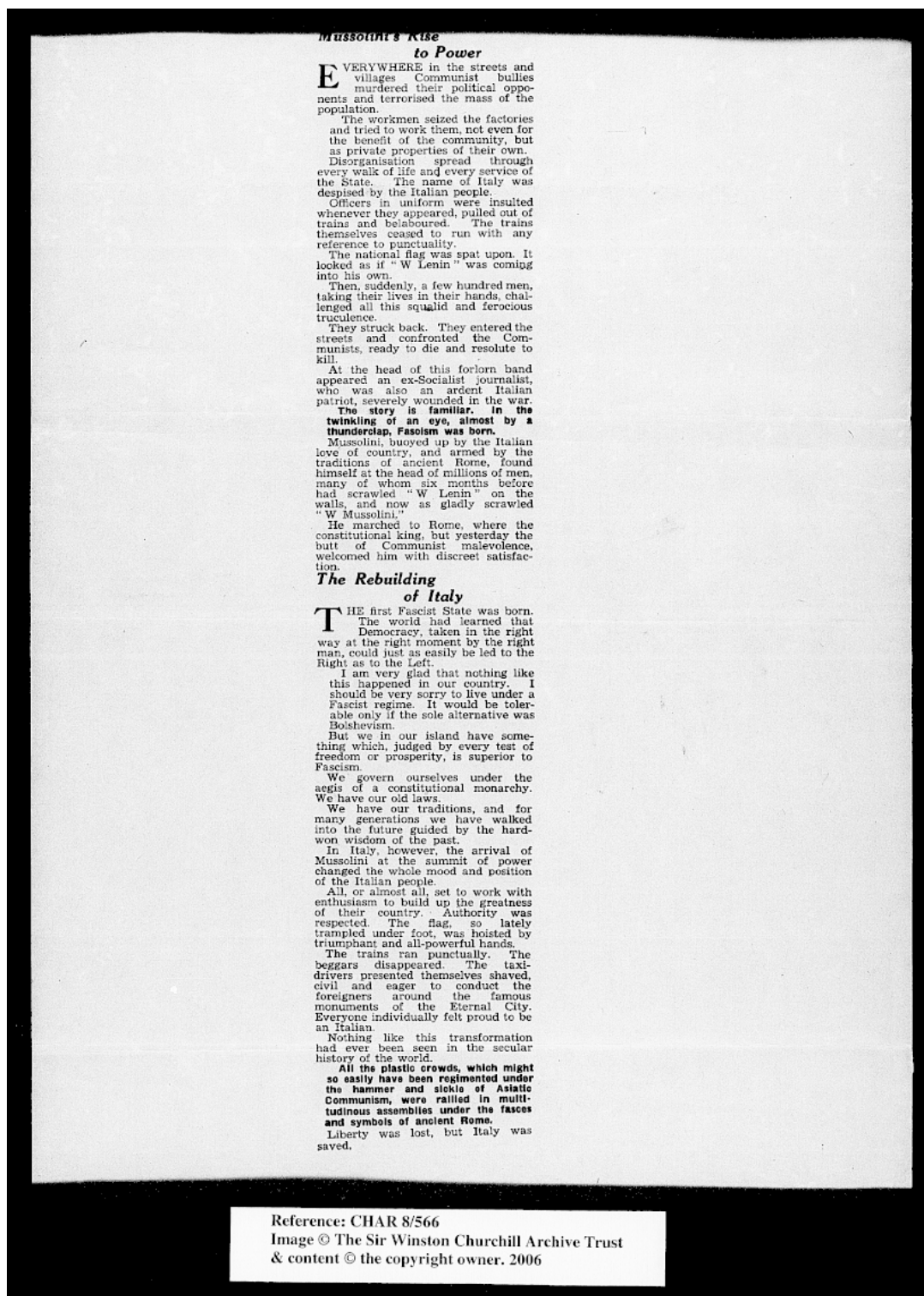
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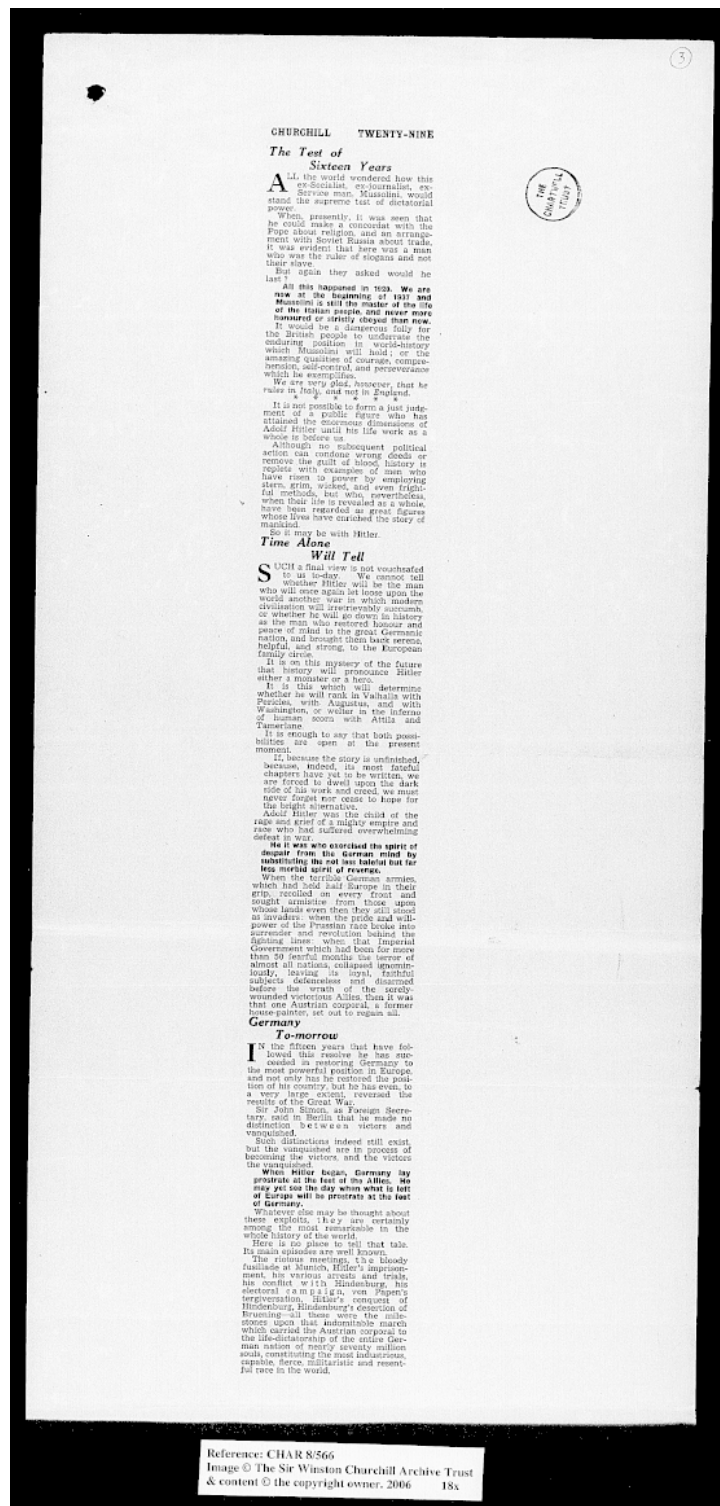
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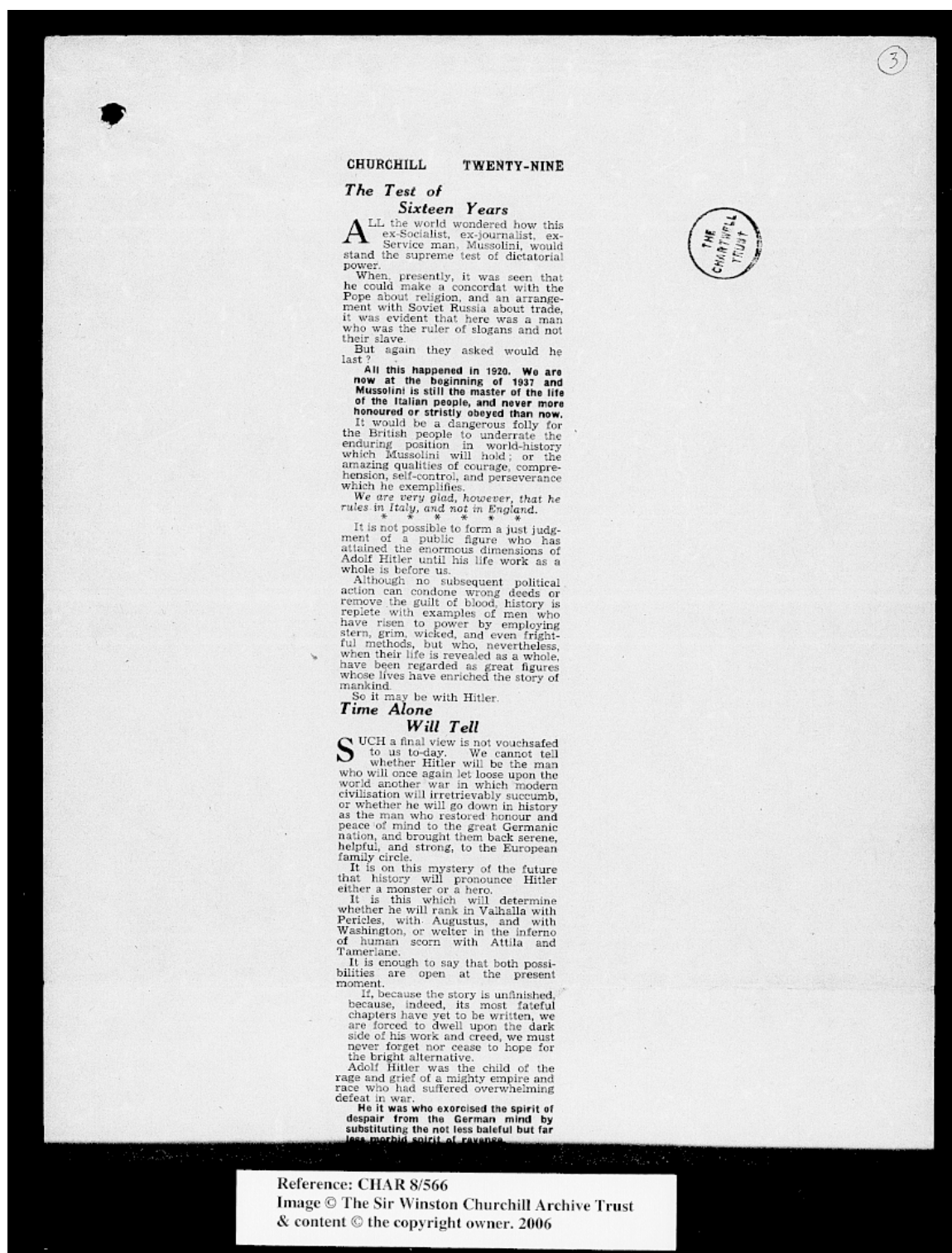
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SUCH a final view is not vouchsafed to us to-day. We cannot tell whether Hitler will be the man who will once again let loose upon the world another war in which modern civilisation will irretrievably succumb, or whether he will go down in history as the man who restored honour and peace of mind to the great Germanic nation, and brought them back serene, helpful, and strong, to the European family circle.

It is on this mystery of the future that history will pronounce Hitler either a monster or a hero.

It is this which will determine whether he will rank in Valhalla with Pericles, with Augustus, and with Washington, or welter in the inferno of human scorn with Attila and Tamerlane.

It is enough to say that both possibilities are open at the present moment.

If, because the story is unfinished, because, indeed, its most fateful chapters have yet to be written, we are forced to dwell upon the dark side of his work and creed, we must never forget nor cease to hope for the bright alternative.

Adolf Hitler was the child of the rage and grief of a mighty empire and race who had suffered overwhelming defeat in war.

He it was who exorcised the spirit of despair from the German mind by substituting the not less baleful but far less morbid spirit of revenge.

When the terrible German armies, which had held half Europe in their grip, recoiled on every front and sought armistice from those upon whose lands even then they still stood as invaders: when the pride and will-power of the Prussian race broke into surrender and revolution behind the fighting lines: when that Imperial Government which had been for more than 50 fearful months the terror of almost all nations, collapsed ignominiously, leaving its loyal, faithful subjects defenceless and disarmed before the wrath of the sorely-wounded victorious Allies, then it was that one Austrian corporal, a former house-painter, set out to regain all.

Germany

To-morrow

IN the fifteen years that have followed this resolve he has succeeded in restoring Germany to the most powerful position in Europe, and not only has he restored the position of his country, but he has even, to a very large extent, reversed the results of the Great War.

Sir John Simon, as Foreign Secretary, said in Berlin that he made no distinction between victors and vanquished.

Such distinctions indeed still exist, but the vanquished are in process of becoming the victors, and the victors the vanquished.

When Hitler began, Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the Allies. He may yet see the day when what is left of Europe will be prostrate at the feet of Germany.

Whatever else may be thought about these exploits, they are certainly among the most remarkable in the whole history of the world.

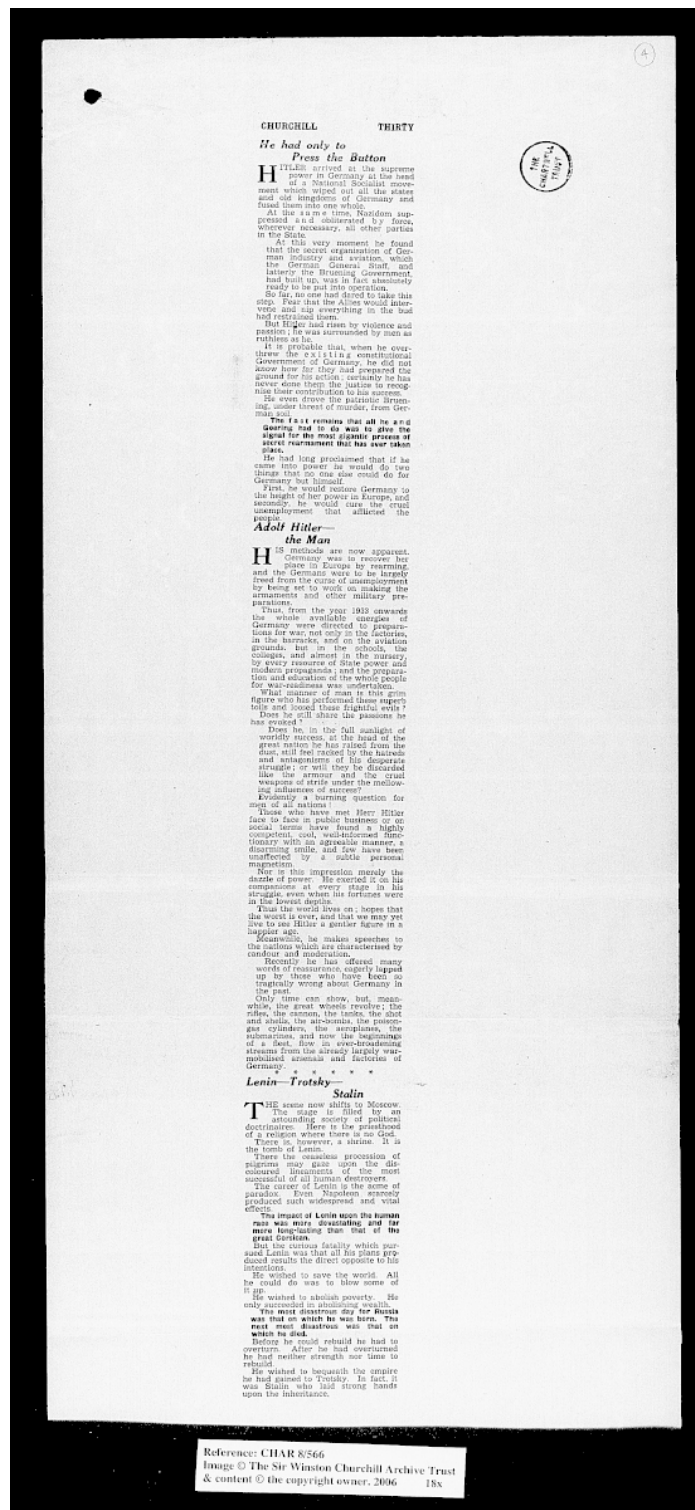
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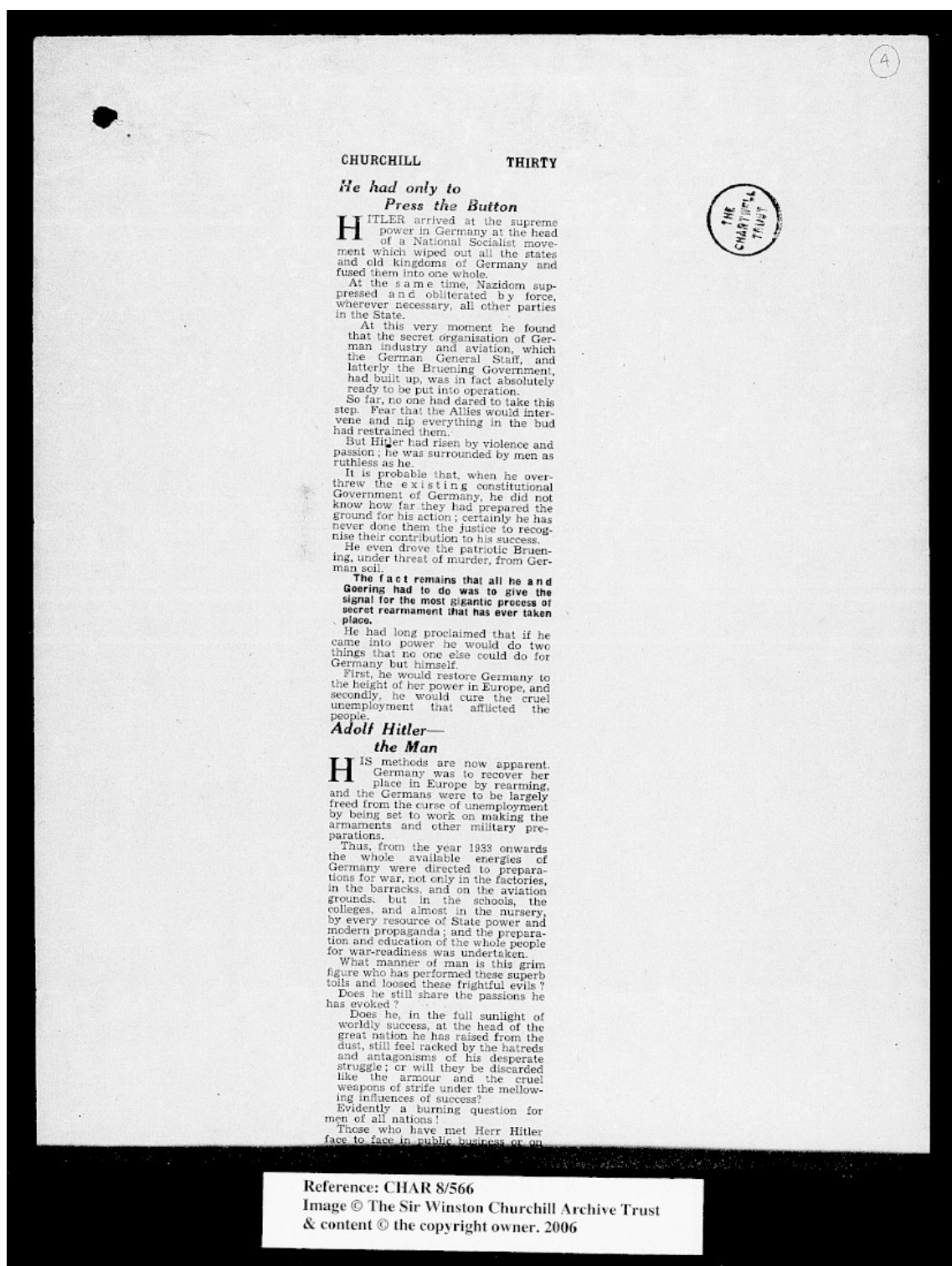
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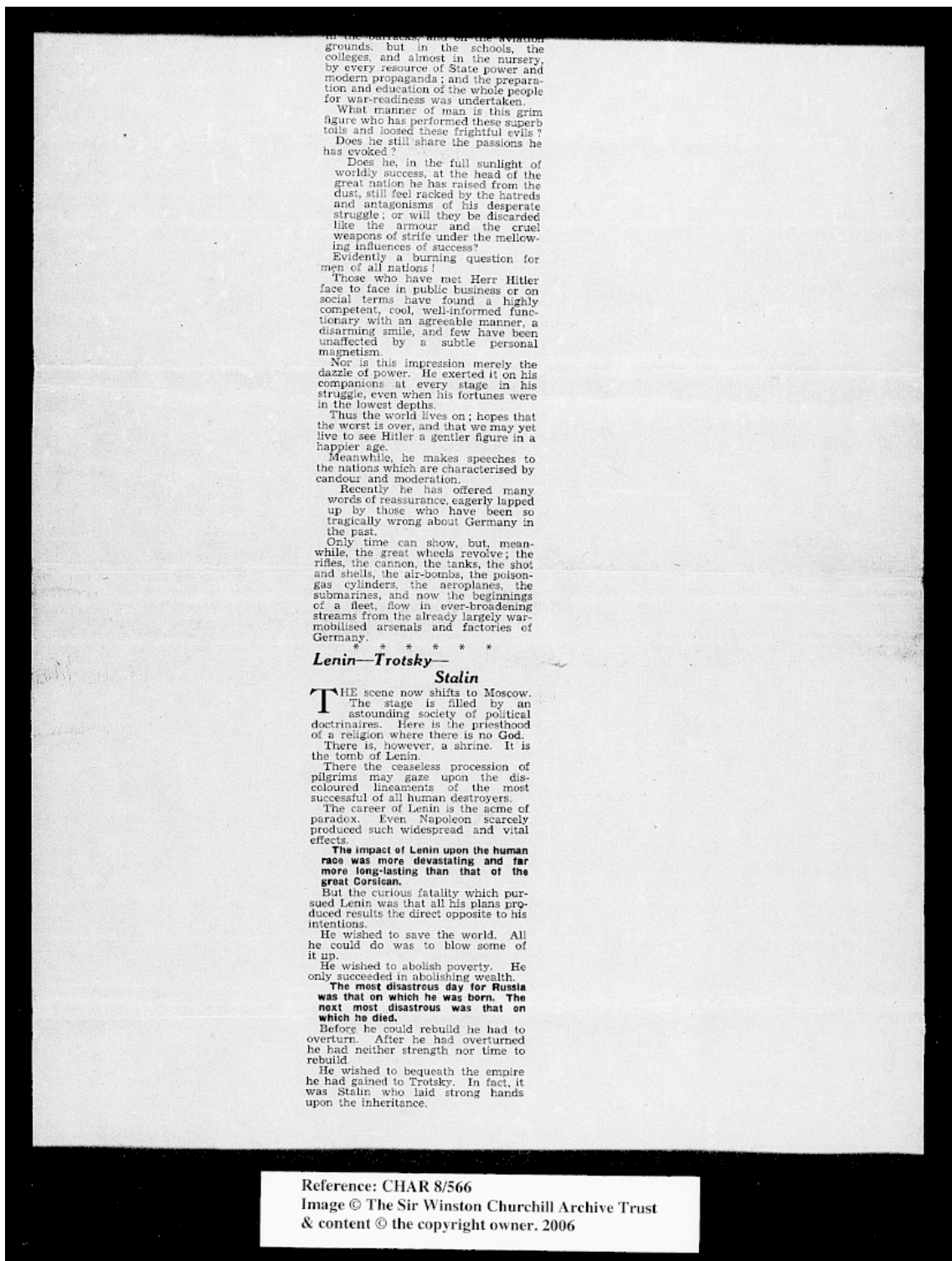
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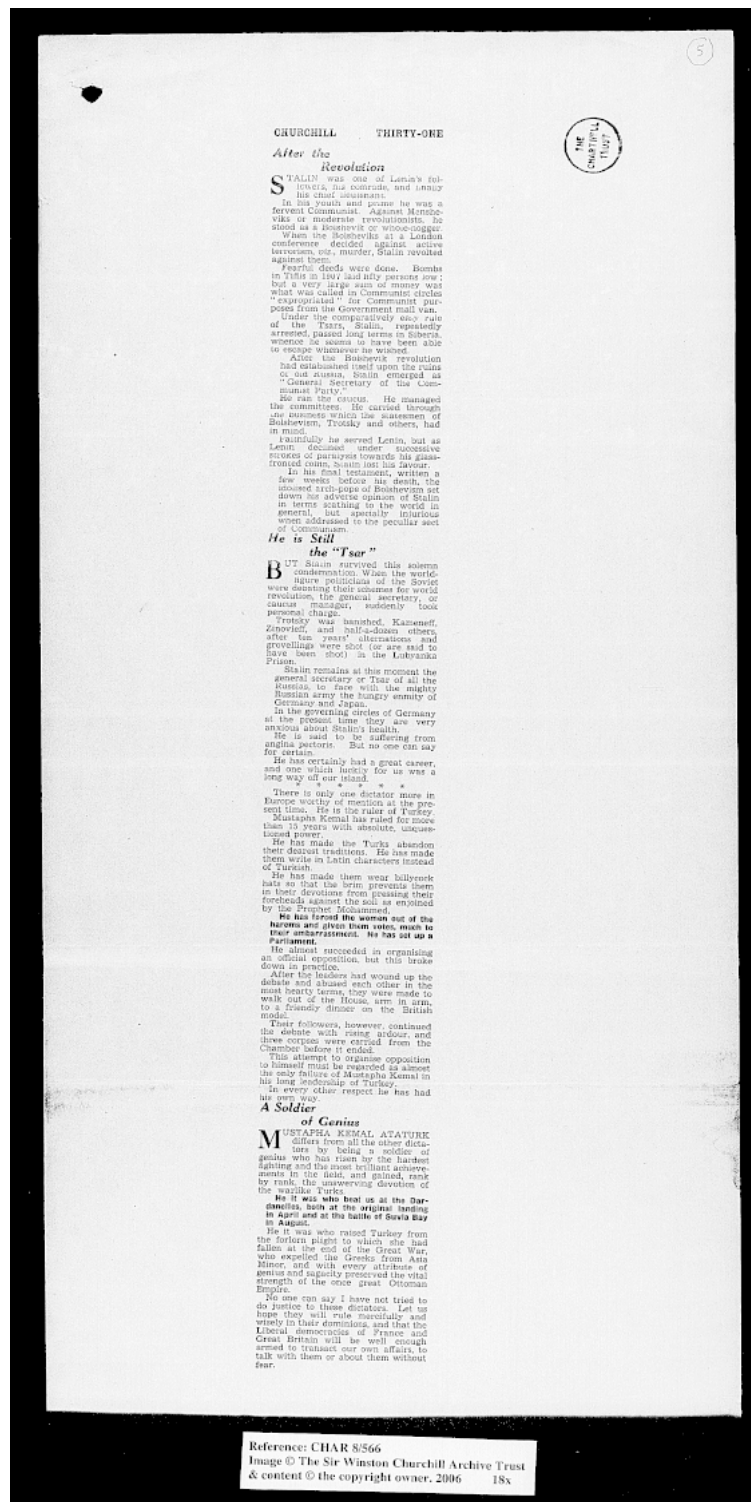
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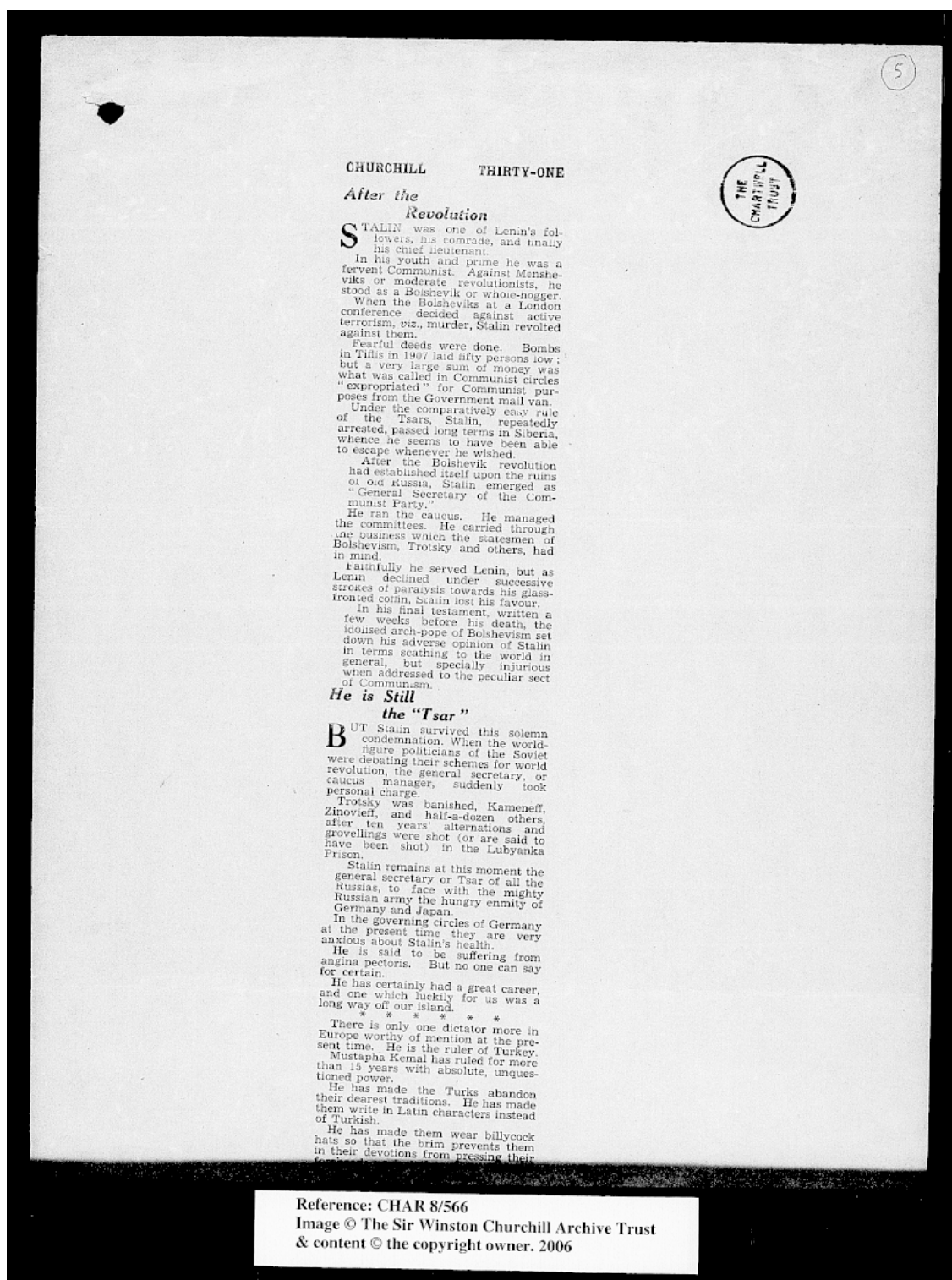
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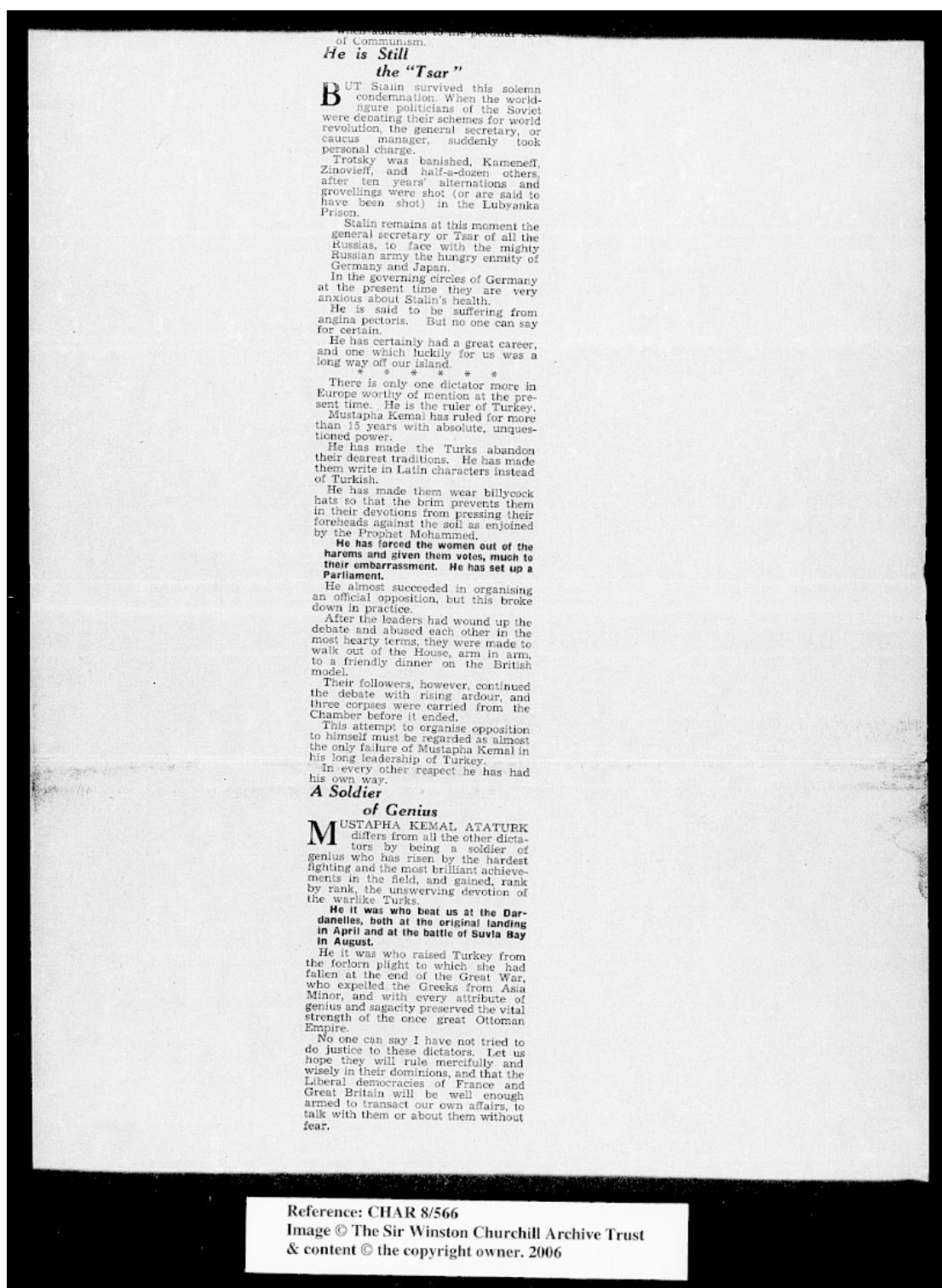
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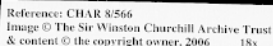


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News of the World, Oct. 10, 1937

THIS AGE OF GOVERNMENT BY GREAT DICTATORS




ADOLF HITLER.

BENITO MUSSOLINI.

Dynasties Have Gone and War Lords are the Idols in the Shrines of Europe

By the Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, P.C., M.P.
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"THE more things change, the more they are the same," say the French.

Certainly, the efforts at human government attempted by the various nations of the world very largely confirm this profound and challenging paradox.

Out of anarchy, indefinite, intolerable, and threatening to become interminable, sprang kings, given all power and almost God-like status.

Of course, the kings governed well, or misgoverned, according to their circumstances and their characters. At any rate, they seemed far better than the hitherto unending anarchy and terror which had preceded them.

But the risk of entrusting the entire fortunes, not merely of a group of tribes, but of the great nations which developed under the kings to the accident of an individual birth, weighed heavily upon the spirit of mankind.

At one period Pericles or Augustus, at another Draco or Caligula!

After the old primeval anarchy had been suppressed society set itself to try to restrain their kings. They invented constitutions of many different types, designed to average the risks.

Here they might hamper a great law-giver, a prophet, a true leader of the race; there, on the other hand, they fitted a strait-waistcoat on a monster, a crack-pate, an idiot, or perhaps only a worm.

Still, this doctrine of averaging risks by means of constitutions, and of keeping kings without returning to anarchy, became deeply engrained in the people of a small island amid the northern mists who seemed to have a genius for common sense.

Out of it arose by many painful processes the famous English Parliamentary system and constitutional monarchy.

Under this the king reigns, but does not govern. He gathers and preserves all that is best in the nation. He embodies all its achievements. He is the heir of all its glories.

By a profound clairvoyance pomp was divorced from power, and power

Gone are the Dynasties

DEMOCRACY has been defined as "the association of us all in the leadership of the best." In practice it does not always work this way.

Vast masses of people were invested with the decisive right to vote, while at the same time they had very little leisure to study the questions upon which they must pronounce, and an enormous apparatus for feeding them with propaganda, catchwords, and slogans came simultaneously into existence.

This combination of extraordinary conditions bid fair to reintroduce the age of anarchy.

Alike in fear of anarchy and in vague hopes of future comforts a very large proportion of Europe have yielded themselves to dictatorship.

Nations which had either driven out or confined within constitutional limits the old careful kingships of the past, made haste to rally in the parades and processions of a set of violent, wrathful, resourceful, dominating figures cast up by the bloody surge of war and its cruel lacerating recoil.

We have entered the age of the dictators.

This fever threatened to spread beyond the bounds of semi-Asiatic Russia.

By a supreme effort defeated Germany threw it off. It menaced Italy with mortal danger.

Everywhere in Italy one read scrawled upon the walls "W Lenin," meaning "Eviva Lenin." The Royal and Parliamentary Government of Italy could make no head against this tide.

A Patriot's Rise to Power.

EVERYWHERE in the streets and villages Communist bullies murdered their political opponents and terrorised the mass of the population.

The workmen seized the factories and tried to work them, not even for the benefit of the community, but as private properties of their own.

Disorganisation spread through every walk of life and every service of the State. The name of Italy was despised by the Italian people.

Officers in uniform were insulted whenever they appeared, pulled out of trains and belaboured. The trains themselves ceased to run with any reference to punctuality.

The national flag was spat upon. It looked as if "W Lenin" was coming into his own.

Then, suddenly, a few hundred men, taking their lives in their hands, challenged all this squalid and ferocious truculence.

They struck back. They entered the streets and confronted the Communists, ready to die and resolute to kill.

At the head of this forlorn band appeared an ex-Socialist journalist, who was also an ardent Italian patriot, severely wounded in the war.

The story is familiar. In the twinkling of an eye, almost by a thunderclap, Fascism was born.

Mussolini, buoyed up by the Italian love of country, and armed by the traditions of ancient Rome, found himself at the head of millions of men, many of whom six months before had scrawled "W Lenin" on the walls, and now as gladly scrawled "W Mussolini."

He marched to Rome, where the constitutional king, but yesterday the butt of Communist malevolence, welcomed him with discreet satisfaction.

Pope about religion, and an arrangement with Soviet Russia about trade, it was evident that here was a man who was the ruler of slogans and not their slave.

But again they asked would he last?

All this happened in 1920. We are now nearly at the end of 1937, and Mussolini is still the master of the life of the Italian people, and never more honoured or strictly obeyed than now.

It would be a dangerous folly for the British people to underrate the enduring position in world-history which Mussolini will hold; or the amazing qualities of courage, comprehension, self-control, and perseverance which he exemplifies.

We are very glad, however, that he rules in Italy, and not in England.

EUROPE'S MAN OF DESTINY

How will Adolf Hitler Use His Power?

IT is not possible to form a just judgment of a public figure who has attained the enormous dimensions of Adolf Hitler until his life work as a whole is before us.

Although no subsequent political action can condone wrong deeds or remove the guilt of blood, history is replete with examples of men who have risen to power by employing stern, grim, wicked, and even frightful methods, but who, nevertheless, when their life is revealed as a whole, have been regarded as great figures whose lives have enriched the story of mankind.

So it may be with Hitler.

Time Alone Will Tell

SUCH a final view is not vouchsafed to us to-day. We cannot tell whether Hitler will be the man who will once again let loose upon the world another war in which modern civilisation will irretrievably succumb, or whether he will go down in history as the man who restored honour and peace of mind to the great Germanic

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWELVE

THIS AGE OF GOVERNMENT BY GREAT DICTATORS

becoming the victors, and the victors the vanquished.

When Hitler began, Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the Allies. He may yet see the day when what is left of Europe will be prostrate at the feet of Germany.

Whatever else may be thought about these exploits, they are certainly among the most remarkable in the whole history of the world.

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He had only to Press the Button

HITLER arrived at the supreme power in Germany at the head of a National Socialist movement which wiped out all the states and old kingdoms of Germany and fused them into one whole.

At the same time, Nazidom suppressed and obliterated by force, wherever necessary, all other parties in the State.

At this very moment he found that the secret organisation of German industry and aviation, which the German General Staff, and latterly the Bruening Government, had built up, was in fact absolutely ready to be put into operation.

So far, no one had dared to take this step. Fear that the Allies would intervene and nip everything in the bud had restrained them.

But Hitler had risen by violence and passion; he was surrounded by men as ruthless as he.

It is probable that, when he over-

threw the existing constitutional Government of Germany, he did not know how far they had prepared the ground for his action; certainly he has never done them the justice to recognise their contribution to his success.

He even drove the patriotic Bruening, under threat of murder, from German soil.

The fact remains that all he and Goering had to do was to give the signal for the most gigantic process of secret rearmament that has ever taken place.

He had long proclaimed that if he came into power he would do two things that no one else could do for Germany but himself.

First, he would restore Germany to the height of her power in Europe, and secondly, he would cure the cruel unemployment that afflicted the people.

A Nation Goes War-Minded

HIS methods are now apparent. Germany was to recover her place in Europe by rearming, and the Germans were to be largely freed from the curse of unemployment by being set, to work on making the armaments and other military preparations.

Thus, from the year 1933 onwards the whole available energies of Germany were directed to preparations for war, not only in the factories, in the barracks, and on the aviation grounds, but in the schools, the colleges, and almost in the nursery, by every resource of State power and modern propaganda; and the preparation and education of the whole people for war-readiness was undertaken.

What manner of man is this grim figure who has performed these superb toils and loosed these frightful evils?

Does he still share the passions he has evoked?

Does he, in the full sunlight of worldly success, at the head of the great nation he has raised from the dust, still feel racked by the hatreds and antagonisms of his desperate struggle; or will they be discarded like the armour and the cruel

weapons of strife under the mellowing influences of success?

Evidently a burning question for men of all nations!

Those who have met Herr Hitler face to face in public business or on social terms have found a highly competent, cool, well-informed functionary with an agreeable manner, a disarming smile, and few have been unaffected by a subtle personal magnetism.

Nor is this impression merely the dazzle of power. He exerted it on his companions at every stage in his struggle, even when his fortunes were in the lowest depths.

Thus the world lives on; hopes that the worst is over, and that we may yet live to see Hitler a gentler figure in a happier age.

Meanwhile, he makes speeches to the nations which are characterised by candour and moderation.

Recently he has offered many words of reassurance, eagerly lapped up by those who have been so tragically wrong about Germany in the past.

Only time can show, but, meanwhile, the great wheels revolve; the rifles, the cannon, the tanks, the shot and shells, the air-bombs, the poison-gas cylinders, the aeroplanes, the submarines, and now the beginnings of a fleet, flow in ever-broadening streams from the already largely war-mobilised arsenals and factories of Germany.

No one can say I have not tried to do justice to these two dictators. Let us hope they will rule mercifully and wisely in their dominions, and that the Liberal democracies of France and Great Britain will be well enough armed to transact our own affairs, to talk with them or about them without fear.

Winston Churchill

Mr. Winston Churchill's article next Sunday will be entitled
"JAPAN'S RAPID RISE
TO POWER"

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